727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

● [791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castés.

## 16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Pooty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

● [791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

643 Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 [793] The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami, the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters.

● [791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

## 2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
794 makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
756 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga); in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either because their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

●791 As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

791 [198] or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are [672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

794 515 In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

756 There is another group of persons who maintain close
791 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

756 Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

791 This chief sorcerer was a kind of Delphic Oracle for the entire
756 interlacustrine region. He enjoyed such a high reputation that the kings of Urundi and Ruanda often sent missions to him to obtain the benefit of his counsel. The same is also frequently reported of the rulers of Usindja (No. 35, pp. 498, 506). As far as the sorcerers of Urundi, Kisiba, Ussumbwa, and other adjoining areas are concerned, we know that at times they travel to Uha in order to learn higher magic from the famous abafumu who live there. On the other hand, there are Baha medicine men who are employed as "court sorcerers" by various rulers of the interlacustrine region. The influential court sorcerer of the Urundi king, Mutaga, is also a Muhutu from Uha. His name is Kiburua (Ndandi), and he is well provided for by the king (report by von Langenn). It appears that all these Baha sorcerers are Bahutu, Bantu. This again is connected with the fact that the Bantu is by nature inclined toward mysticism and that the Bantu population is much older than the Bahima immigrants. There is no sorcerers' school in Urundi or Ruanda, where one might learn the secret teachings and practices from a "Council of Wise Men," but, as has been mentioned above, power and wisdom is passed on from one generation to the other within the family. Whoever has inherited these attributes and wishes to augment them must try to imitate the techniques of other magicians.

[132] As is evident from the examples reported by Father
756 Gassldinger which have been listed above, the functions of the umufumu are extremely varied. They encompass all conceivable physical ailments of man and animal, and the umufumu applies innumerable natural and supernatural techniques for assuaging and curing them. In the opinion of the Barundi, however, the natural remedies are not successful merely because of their natural characteristics -- for what does he know about physical and chemical effects, about the physiology of the body, or about causality, etc. -- but their effects stem from supernatural
[753] powers imparted to them by the umufumu. They believe that sickness, when not a case of direct poisoning, is usually caused by the supernatural influence of evil spirits (abarosi). It is, of
756 course, true that the Murundi, for his domestic use, applies
757 a great number of simple remedies which have been passed down

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

754 The abafumu have another important task: to discover
791 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 791 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused, [695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found [683] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

791 789 The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

791 [134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

778 Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
796 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
[411] the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear" guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42



questions are asked, it appears that this conception of the life of the universe has not been the subject of speculation and is not of great importance to the Banyarwanda.

Without *Imana* the world would not continue to exist and his action is necessary to maintain life. *Imana's* action, however, is not manifested in particular interventions; it is conceived rather as an underlying force which sustains the whole universe but does not interfere in the development of the life of nature. Seeds are put into the ground and after some time plants come up, the banana-trees produce their yields, the cows breed. All this is the normal course of things and we may expect the recurrence of these events at the proper times. This universal order, indeed, is not independent of *Imana*. He made plants grow and animals multiply, but he does not have to act to give fertility in each case. The scholastic distinction between prime cause and secondary causes can very well be applied to Ruanda conceptions. *Imana* acts as the prime cause of the universe and therefore any event may be imputed to him. On the other hand, nature itself includes the secondary causes which account for the regular unfolding of its course.

But this natural order is not unalterable. *Imana* remains master of the rules he has established. There are numerous stories of miracles worked by *Imana* (a stick becomes a cow, teeth are granted to a girl who had none, &c.). Other beings besides *Imana* may act on nature: the spirits of the dead and even some men, the sorcerers. They may prevent somebody's beans from growing, they may have a man or a cow struck down by lightning. In particular, rain, so important in this country where rainfall is very irregular, has been regarded as under man's control. There were rain-makers (*bavubyi*) who had the dangerous responsibility of regulating rainfall.

Natural forces—rain, wind, hail, storms—are not considered as persons having desires and intentions that could be influenced by prayers or offerings. It seems that only thunder is personalized, and is regarded as a king (*mwami*). When a person has been struck by lightning, it is said that the Thunder-King has honoured his subjects with a visit and has taken one of them with him. Lightning receives the same salute as the king of Ruanda.

Banyarwanda implicitly distinguish between the regular course of nature and more or less unexpected events. Towards the former they assume a rational attitude. They do not look to the invisible world to account for the alternation of the phases of the moon, the growth of plants, the breeding of cattle. These phenomena are explicable on the level of secondary causes. Neither *Imana* nor the occult powers interfere in the normal course of material nature. It would be misleading to conceive of the Ruanda people as 'primitives' living in an irrational world where every phenomenon is an enchantment demanding explanation in terms of an intervention of the invisible world. They look at the world in its regular course in the same way as does a product of Western culture.

Of course, a Munyarwanda could not explain the interplay and the exact action of secondary causes as a Western scientist would do. But neither

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42



In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

*Diviners and Sorcerers*

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42



in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

173 in the royal cemetery which retained his name and which is called Luhanga. Must he be regarded as the Hamitic chief who was first to come with his family and a few compatriots and occupy the area, after staying in the Ndorwa at a place called Mutara, which seems to have been the first stopping place of the Batutsi at the threshold of Ruanda?

Along with Ruganzu II, he is of all the ancient kings the one most often mentioned and the one whose legends are prized most highly by the people. According to a curious legend, one of his [773] daughters is said to have discovered and domesticated the first cow, from which the others descended. The narrative built around this memorable event is very popular and contains several episodes. Gihanga is also regarded as the inventor of fire, which he bequeathed to his son and successor.

This alleged discovery has won Gihanga special honors. The official chroniclers maintain the most profound silence about the nine following kings, whose names alone they have preserved.

Did they all really exist? It is not easy to answer this question clearly, for we have not yet left the legendary realm. Gihanga, indeed, is regarded as the father of all men. His sons became the ancestors of all peoples. Kafomo, who is mentioned in the legend concerning the introduction of cows into Ruanda, gave birth to the Bashubbi (Basui), or people of Usui. /79/

Kanyarwanda, the heir to the throne, gave birth to the Banyarwanda. His immediate successor, Musindi, twelfth in the dynasty, is regarded as the founder of the Basindi, or Banyiginya, clan, the most powerful among the Batutsi (1).

1. Most of the important families have picked out for themselves imaginary ancestors. Among some of them, however, the claimed ancestry is authentic.

• [941] The sacrificer-diviners, known by the name of Abosha, claim to be descended from the famous Lunukamishyo,

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"the man with the sorcerer's knives," who was originally from the Ndorwa and who left it for Ruanda. The important Batsobe family claims to be descended from Gatsobe and Nyirarutsobe, who aided Ruganzu II Ndori in his expedition against Nzira in the land of Bugara.

Families vie with each other to claim the most distant and most illustrious ancestors.

No matter how well devised they may be, these genealogies are practically worthless from a historical standpoint. At best one may regard as true the origin of the Abosha, who belong to the Basinga clan, and that of the Batsobe, who entered the great family of the Banyarwanda a little later.

One must come all the way to Ruganzu I Bwimba and Chyilima I Rugwe, the twentieth and twenty-first in the dynasty, in order to obtain a few historical details of a greater moment. The latter king is said to have been killed at Gasseke where his spirit (umuzimu) is still regularly "soothed" and "honored." The central province of Nduga, it seems, had not yet been invaded by the Batutsi. At that time they may, at best, have occupied the Buganza, the Gissaka, which formed a small Hamitic kingdom, possibly the Bugessera, and later the Bgana-Chambge and the Bumbogo. It is possible that Chyilima I died in the course of an expedition which he carried out to invade the Nduga.

With his two immediate successors, Kigeri I and the latter's son, Mibambge I Mutabasi, we enter an important and better-known historical period.

The present surface of Ruanda was still covered with tiny autonomous kingdoms.

794 776 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bearing [711] and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers [415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the [782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer [782] to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

644 They were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

## Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National. Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

644 A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
791 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

1 [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

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On account of this fame, the Bakoma have been entrusted with the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

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In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).

1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

9 [i.e., of being described from the best sorcerer. -Analyst]

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Ruganzu II, " /Book III, not translated/, we spoke at some length of the Basozo and the origin of the privileges they still enjoy.

The royal corporation of undertakers has similar prerogatives.

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B. The sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind who are employed at court or personally by the king may be said to form the most important and most numerous group. The king requests their services both on a private and on a public and national basis. Their titles and duties are infinitely varied. They are recruited from numerous clans. The Bega tribe provides the most celebrated sacrificer-diviners, known under the name /391/ of Abakongori or Abanyambuto. The Abachumbi group, who aside from their role as diviners have the power of setting spirits to flight, are drawn from among the Basinga. So are the Abosha, who claim to be direct descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo, that is to say, "the man with the sorcerer's knives, " who came from the land of Ndorwa. It has already been said that he came to seek his fortune in Ruanda, where he was well received by the Hamitic princes, who raised his family to noble rank and showered it with material goods. The name of the forebear, as preserved in history, derives from two words, kunuka, "to feel, " and imishyo, "knives, " because of the habit he had of using his sacrificer-diviner's knife to take his bearings.

Also included in the category of sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind are the Abanyantondwe, Abanyakarago, Bihungamutwe, Abanyanzuzi, who are the most common, and many others.

Rev. Fr. Arnoux has discussed them at some length in his work (1).

1. "La Divination au Rwanda /Divination in Ruanda/, " Anthropos, 1918. In this study

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

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Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners. They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

644 C. Aside from the haruspices, diviners, and sacrificers we
791 have just mentioned, the king retains appointed representatives of every possible and imaginable kind of sorcery.

A whole crowd of sorcerers toils for the monarch and his court: necromancers (Abashyitsi or abahamagazi), conjurer-magicians (Abahuzi), makers of philters and charms (abanyanzaratsi), makers of amulets (abachunyi), etc.

Strangers who came from Bunyabungu or Buhunde (regions located to the north and west of Lake Kivu), from Uswi or Ujinja (on the shores of /Lake/ Victoria), etc., are no less popular than their autochthonous colleagues and sometimes surpass them in the novelty or originality of their art.

There was even once a dispensary for charms and poisons (ubulozi, plural amarozi or ibirozi) which one requisitioned from afar or attempted to make on the spot, although it appears that these experiments met with little success.

The plants whose juice, bark, or leaves were used were not among the most poisonous, as we shall see later.

We may add that the reputation of these magicians seems to have been more impressive than their deeds or the consequences of those deeds.

In all justice one must except from this statement the conjurer-
644 magicians called abahuzi, whose crimes /394/ and misdeeds are too
756 numerous to list (1). It is difficult to understand how they managed
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1. "To seek" is guhura in Kinyarwanda, hence the word umuhuzi, "seeker," given to this fearsome group of sorcerers. Guhurish' ihembe means "to seek with the horn," and guhurish' umunwa, "to seek with the mouth" (in the patient's body).

to exploit public credulity with impunity through so many centuries. The popular expression "to have blood on one's hands" may be fully

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

791 In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

791 The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The [842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/ [644] is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals
wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or
[302] lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

## Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding. Spell Casters and Bewitchers. Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

• 791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their
644 colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

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We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences," far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

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1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.

Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to [173] legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything.

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

791 2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
789 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

789 241 Woe to those who plunder lands which have been thus bewitched! They are struck motionless on the spot and become completely paralyzed (baragangara) and incapable of any motion. The sorcerer alone can free them by uttering some cabalistic words. In order to safeguard his crops the owner of a field often uses the following method, which consists of laying down on the field which is to be protected the sharpening stone, a handful of ashes from the hearth, and strips of leather taken from an old drum. If a sorghum crop is involved, our man ties together four sorghum stems near the mystic assortment, as though to simulate a hut consecrated to the spirits. The trespasser who chances on the property will be immobilized, or he will catch an illness that will lead him to the grave (1).

1. We are talking as from the native's mouth, but we do not intend to confirm his claims in any way. Even when events justify those claims, this may undoubtedly be ascribed to emotion, autosuggestion, or sheer coincidence.

791 789 In the Bwana-Mkali province, operators of this kind bear the name of Abakagizi (from gukagira, "to hinder"), and their method is called urukago, "hindrance." Like their other colleagues, they bury amulets, plants with magic properties, an old household spatula, or even the small stone used to crush the grain at the entrance to the courtyard or behind the hut. The stone, called ingasire, is also called ikinane in sorcerers' terms, that is to say, "the obstacle," "the supreme preventitive." The use of a spatula which is worn or out of commission has a mystic sense and a magic virtue at the same time. The thief who should attempt to enter a dwelling protected in this fashion would find his efforts come to naught (2). Professional

2. This method is reminiscent of bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/.

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

[825] 3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

754 684 837 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 791 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 783 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

695 in the liquid, such are the ingredients of this drink which is prepared for God's judgment.

A small piece of iron, kadigi, which is believed to have a magic property, is tossed into the vessel. Gravity and solemnity are the rule during sessions of this kind. A drinking tube is given to the accused to take the poison. Some people are made seriously ill by it, while others are able to "relieve" themselves almost immediately, which goes to prove their innocence.

F. The chick test. The accused are given small chicks which have just hatched. Each of them must hold one in his hand under the supervision of watchmen who are supposed to prevent tricks and infractions in the proceedings. The chick which survives the lack of food for the longest period of time (about one day and one night) proves "in its own way" the honesty of its lucky owner.

G. The boiling water test, so well known and so popular in the Middle Ages. The procedure is the same.

The numbers and kinds of ordeals vary among the provinces of Ruanda. Many of them were borrowed from neighboring lands with which the Banyarwanda have frequent contact.

[177] Up to now, both plaintiffs and defendants had frequent recourse to those methods. The introduction of European tribunals has dealt a death blow to tests of this sort, which occur in the beginnings of every civilization. /425/

## Chapter 3

### Rain Makers or Tempest Makers (Ababvubyi). Protectors Against Lightning (Abagangahuzi). Ravagers of Crops and Fields (Abahoryo).

791 Owing to the people's credulity, the services of these personages are among the most valued and also the most lucrative. They seldom live at the capital, or go there only occasionally when summoned expressly.

791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

132 Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the
221 names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of
805 their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

## Part One

## Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

### I. Native Months

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Nzeri . . . . . October | 7. | Werurgwe . . . . . April |
| 2. | Okwakira . . . . . November | 8. | Mata . . . . . May |
| 3. | Ogushingo . . . . . December | 9. | Gichurassi . . . . . June |
| 4. | Okuboza . . . . . January | 10. | Kamena . . . . . July |
| 5. | Mutarama . . . . . February | 11. | Nyakanga . . . . . August |
| 6. | Gashantare . . . . . March | 12. | Gatumba gatoya . . September |
| | | | Gatumba kanama . " |

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

Part Two

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Have an Influence on Rain, Lightning, and Crops

[791] They may be put into three categories, as indicated by the title, to wit: rain makers, protectors against lightning and its fearsome consequences, and finally those who watch over the crops.

Rain Makers (Ababvubyi)

We have seen previously that the members of the Bashara clan are born rain makers, in the tradition of their alleged ancestor Rushara, who was granted this role quite unwittingly. /435/

Aside from the Bashara, there are other rain makers, such as those from Bukunzi in the Kinyaga and those from Bussigi to the north of Kigali.

Among them the trade is transmitted from father to son.

Here and there one finds impromptu rain makers of varying fame.

They are usually poor people, men or women, who came from another region, for here as elsewhere "no one is a prophet in his own land." They profess to be rain makers so as not to die of hunger.

This is indeed a lucrative although dangerous profession. In order to get rain the people must offer a gift called by the name of amasororo (gusorora) and which becomes due at least once a year. The king and the chiefs go so far as to present the rain makers with a cow or even several. Woe to them, however, if the beneficent shower fails to come. Numerous were the victims of this difficult art when the elements withheld their cooperation. Most of those unfortunate [686] people were drowned or beaten to death for not practicing their calling properly, inducing or arresting storms according to the season (kubvuba no kwich' imvura).

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura) Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

768 766 821 791 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. According to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax" (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 821 791 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 821 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

766 821 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possible, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

[152] Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman 588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief 766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered 821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchùra) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

766 821 [824 783] Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza, umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and avert any future consequences.

821 231 ●791 796 2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals, cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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821 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony. Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

753 3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.

783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

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Abashumburuzi (1).

1. Umuhozi (plural abahozi) literally means "extinguisher." It is the noun from the active verb guhoza, "to extinguish," or from the neutral form of the same verb, guhora, "to cool off."

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The common people, who do not know the vernacular language thoroughly and are unfamiliar with its riches and subtleties, often confuse in practice the names and professions of the numerous sorcerers who exploit the populace.

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Exercise an Influence Over the Crops by Benefitting Them or by Endangering Them With Their Sorcery

They are called by the name of Abahinza, that is to say, "kings and descendants of the ancient aborigional kings," which goes to explain the origins of most of them at least.

In l'Histoire d'un Règne /Book III, not translated/ there was repeated discussion /441/ of those autochthonous petty kings, who joined the powers of priesthood with those of civil and military magistrature.

Among the best-known examples of these diviner- or magician-kings are Mashira, the famous sorcerer-king of the Nduga, Nkoma, the petty king of Marangara, and Rutoke, of the Buhanga. Their subjects could resort to them in every emergency, for they had an answer to everything. To read and foresee the future, to uncover hidden things, to bewitch and cast spells on their enemies and reduce them to impotence, such were not the least prerogatives of their position. They were also begged for a handful of grain of the time of sowing and cultivation, for this was believed to insure a rich harvest.

791 This was no doubt how the profession of "protector and defender of the crops" originated. It is now exercised by the bahinza, nearly all of whom are descended from the ancient petty kings subjugated by Ruganzu. They never gave offense to the Hamitic kings, who not only allowed them to remain but even protected them in the thought that they and their subjects might benefit thereby.

The professionals in this category are numerous, but the most renowned among them have been so far those from Lubengera in the Bgishaza and those from Suti in the Munyambiriri, because they were closer to the central province of Nduga and in continuous contact with the Hamitic court.

Their colleagues from the Kingogo, Bushiru, Buhoma, Bugamba, etc., were not well known outside their own home territory.

According to public belief, these masters of occult sciences
791 can place restrictions (kuvuma) upon the birds and insects that ravage
825 the crops. Caterpillars are the most dreaded because some of them (ingungu) attack the stems of sweet potatoes and destroy every last one of them, while others devour the leaves of trees in the summertime. /442/

The latter are called bahema. Grasshoppers, weevils, and other worms or insects which attack the crops are no less feared. This is why the natives frequently resort to the bahinza and implore their protection. This protection is purchased with gifts in kind which the chiefs levy themselves on their subjects in order to enlist the intervention of the powerful sorcerers. Some of the bahinza have been known to add rain making to their other functions.

791 One of the sorcerers in this category, called Nyamitwe, who lived on the top of a mountain (Chungeri) in the Bugoyi province, had the idea of excavating a small well, about 1.50 meters deep, in the courtyard fronting his home.

Since the ground was impervious to water, rain water would remain there for varying lengths of time. This enabled the crafty fellow to spread the rumor that he had high powers over the clouds. An ingenious way of bringing grist /Tr.: in French, "water"/ to his mill!

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

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[609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

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791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

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[775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

563 destruction of the forest their independence is at an end, and they
311 become pariahs.

When guerrilla warfare can no longer stem the flood of farmers driven toward the forest because of the land shortage, there is nothing left for the Batwa but to complain of the new state of affairs. This is the story with which Kahima greeted me when I paid him a visit with Father L. Delmas. Originally Kahima's Batwa lived in the primeval forest, but constant clearing had so shifted the forest border that eight huts were already outside the forest, while the rest were still scattered within it. The Batwa, however, do not yet till their own fields. At most their women help the Bahutu in the fields and obtain food in payment.

563 In Ruanda one does, however, find cases where Batwa turn
● [941] to agriculture out of dire necessity. Thus, in the vicinity of Ruasa there is a Mutwa rainmaker who is a leper. When his trade became less profitable because of the growing missionary influence, he began tilling a field. In one respect, however, he remained a true Mutwa: he was unable to keep any small livestock; in no time it had all been killed and eaten.

The relationship between the Forest Batwa and the Banyaruanda is the same as that between the Pygmies and the full-sized Negroes. Each Batwa group recognizes a Ruanda chief as its head, to whom they bring the yield from hunting in exchange for agricultural produce. This vassal relationship existed between Kahima and Chuma.

We must, however, point out a difference. The Batwa acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler of Ruanda. From time to time they bring the king presents. These are presented to the king through the mediation of their Muhutu patron, Chuma, who is said to be the king's client (mugaragu).

Anthropologically, the contrast between Batutsi and Batwa is even greater than between the farmers and the herdsman aristocracy, but even so we cannot overlook the strong political solidarity of the privileged and the pariahs. If a Mututsi sacrifices sheep, the Mutwa eats the meat. When he slaughters anything, he does not forget the Mutwa. Between these two minority elements there is

expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief,, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
789 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulem who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

791 Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
821 If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy
232 which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[787] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

674 754 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden [761] deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

● 791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

781 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42



from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *murozi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42



Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1958, pp. 326-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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PLATE 6

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A Hutu diviner

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